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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09
	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00	/024W	
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O 111318Z DEC 92  
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2488  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 05119

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PREL, RW  
SUBJECT: DEMARCHES TO PRIME MINISTER AND PRESIDENT,  
POSSIBLE PROGRESS TOWARD CONSENSUS

REF: KIGALI 5027

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

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2. SUMMARY: WESTERN DEMARCHES TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER HAVE LED TO A RENEWED COMMITMENT BY BOTH TO UNDERTAKE FURTHER EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A CONSENSUS ON POWER SHARING. FRESH CONTACTS ARE UNDERWAY BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENCY, AND THE CLERGY IS BEING ASKED TO GET INVOLVED AGAIN TO TRY TO IDENTIFY INDEPENDENT INDIVIDUALS (OR PARTIES) FOR CABINET POSITIONS TO PREVENT AN AUTOMATIC ONE-THIRD OR TWO-THIRDS BY EXISTING BLOCS WHEN THE NEW TRANSITION GOVERNMENT IS

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FORMED. ARUSHA TALKS MAY PROCEED ON GENERAL TOPICS, BUT SHOULD AWAIT A JOINT PRESIDENT/PRIME MINISTER INSTRUCTION BEFORE ENGAGING AGAIN ON POWER SHARING IN THE CABINET. END SUMMARY.

3. LED BY THE PAPAL NUNCIO, THE AMBASSADORS OF BELGIUM, FRANCE, GERMANY AND THE U.S. MET WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA ON DECEMBER 10 AND PRIME MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE ON DECEMBER 11. SEPTTEL PROVIDES DETAILS OF CONVERSATIONS AND ANALYSES BY OUR COLLEAGUES HERE. THIS TELEGRAM HIGHLIGHTS THE KEY ISSUES IN THE CONVERSATIONS, AND THE POSSIBILITY THAT THESE DEMARCHES HAVE HELPED TO MOVE THE INTERNAL POLITICAL PROCESS FORWARD TOWARD A CONSENSUS NEEDED FOR THE ARUSHA NEGOTIATIONS.

PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA  
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4. IN HIS SPEECH OF DECEMBER 1, THE PRESIDENT  
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SPELLED OUT CERTAIN PRINCIPLES FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS IN ARUSHA WITHOUT ADDRESSING SPECIFICALLY HIS REACTION TO THE PROPOSALS MADE BY THE CLERGY AND ACCEPTED BY A RUMP SESSION OF THE CABINET ON NOVEMBER 28. WE SOUGHT TO SMOKE HIM OUT ON WHETHER THERE WAS A FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE TWO CONCEPTS. THE PRESIDENT REFUSED REPEATEDLY TO DIRECTLY ADDRESS THE ISSUE. HE KEPT REFERRING BACK TO AN EARLIER PROPOSAL OF THE CLERGY FOR 35 PERCENT PARTICIPATION IN THE CABINET BY HIS PARTY, THE MRND. BUT BY THE END OF A TWO AND A HALF HOUR SESSION, HE SEEMED TO HAVE ACCEPTED THE CLERGY PROPOSALS AS THE BASIS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION. HE DECLINED OUR SUGGESTION, SUPPORTING THAT OF THE TANZANIANS, THAT HE MEET DIRECTLY WITH THE PRIME MINISTER TO WORK OUT THE DIFFERENCES. RATHER, HE PROPOSED A TECHNICAL TEAM WHICH COULD DEVELOP VARIOUS SCENARIOS WHICH COULD THEN BECOME THE BASIS FOR A POLITICAL COMPROMISE. HE ACCEPTED THE NEED FOR COMPROMISE AND FULLY SUPPORTED THE NEED FOR CONSENSUS.

5. IN FACT THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE, WHEN GIVING THE PRESS A DROP ON THE MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADORS, INDICATED THAT THE PRESIDENT FULLY ACCEPTED THE

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OCCIDENTAL AMBASSADORS' URGING FOR A NATIONAL  
CONSENSUS IN PREPARATION FOR THE NEXT ROUND IN ARUSHA.

6. FOLLOWING THE MEETING, THE PRESIDENT ASKED HIS  
CABINET DIRECTOR, ENOCH RUHIGIRA, TO CONSULT WITH THE  
PRIME MINISTER ABOUT ESTABLISHING THIS PROPOSED  
TECHNICAL TEAM. RUHIGIRA REPORTED TO ME LATE

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DECEMBER 10 THAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAD STIFFED HIM  
ON THIS PROPOSAL.

DEMARCH TO PRIME MINISTER  
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7. AS PLANNED, THE SAME GROUP OF FIVE WENT TO SEE  
THE PRIME MINISTER DECEMBER 11. WE MADE ESSENTIALLY  
THE SAME PITCH, BUT HERE HAD LITTLE DIFFICULTY WITH  
THE PRIME MINISTER, WHO HAS EAGERLY ACCEPTED THE  
CLERGY PROPOSALS AND HAS TRIED TO USE THEM AS THE  
BASIS FOR CONTINUING NEGOTIATIONS IN ARUSHA. THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 KIGALI 05119

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, RW

SUBJECT: DEMARCHES TO PRIME MINISTER AND PRESIDENT,

PRIME MINISTER HEARD US OUT, THEN SUMMARIZED HOW HE  
GOT TO HIS POSITION AFTER DEALING WITH THE CLERGY,  
AND EXPLAINED THAT HE FELT THAT THE TECHNICAL TEAM  
PROPOSED BY THE PRESIDENT WAS DANGEROUS, AND SEEMED

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TO MEAN TO HIM THE TOTAL REJECTION OF THE CLERGY  
RECOMMENDATIONS.

8. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR CHALLENGED HIM ON THIS  
POINT, SUGGESTING THAT THE TECHNICAL COMMITTEE WOULD  
NOT BE A CHALLENGE TO THE CLERGY, BUT WOULD BE ABLE  
TO WORK OUT A COMPROMISE WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE  
RECOMMENDATIONS MADE BY THE CLERGY.

9. THE PRIME MINISTER THEN SOUGHT ON SEVERAL  
OCCASIONS TO CLARIFY WHETHER WE BELIEVED THAT THE  
PRESIDENT WAS PREPARED TO USE THE CLERGY  
RECOMMENDATIONS AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR FURTHER  
EFFORTS TO BUILD A CONSENSUS. THE BEST WE COULD COME  
UP WITH WAS TO GIVE A JOINT OPINION THAT WE BELIEVED  
THE PRESIDENT WAS PREPARED TO USE THE CLERGY  
PROPOSALS AS A POINT OF DEPARTURE, ALTHOUGH HE MAY  
ALSO SEEK TO START FROM ANOTHER BASE AS WELL. WITH  
THIS REASSURANCE, THE PRIME MINISTER AGREED TO  
CONTACT THE PRESIDENCY AND ALSO TO CONTACT THE CLERGY  
TO ASK THEM TO RESUME THEIR WORK IN SEEKING TO  
RESOLVE THE REMAINING DIFFERENCES.

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10. WITHIN THE FRESH MANDATE FOR A TECHNICAL COMMITTEE AND/OR THE CLERGY WOULD BE AN EFFORT TO IDENTIFY EITHER INDEPENDENT INDIVIDUALS OR PARTY AND PARTY LEADERS WHO COULD PLAY A NEUTRAL ROLE IN THE CABINET. THIS MEANS THE THREE MINISTRIES ASSIGNED TO "OTHER PARTIES" AND POSSIBLY EVEN AN INDEPENDENT OR TWO FROM WITHIN THE PDC. FURTHER DISCUSSION SUGGESTED THAT THE CLERGY WOULD NOT BE COMFORTABLE

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NAMING INDIVIDUALS FOR POSITIONS, BUT MIGHT BE WILLING TO IDENTIFY A GROUP OF PEOPLE OR PARTIES FROM WHICH THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER MIGHT BE ABLE TO AGREE ON PARTICULAR APPOINTMENTS.

11. COMMENT: THE PRIME MINISTER SEEMS TO THINK THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON GENERAL MATTERS CAN CONTINUE IN ARUSHA. BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE HE WILL NOW PRESS THE FOREIGN MINISTER TO GO FORWARD WITH THE NEGOTIATIONS ON CABINET POSITIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE CLERGY PROPOSALS UNTIL THERE IS FURTHER CLARIFICATION. IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL UP UNTIL NOW IN PRESENTING KIGALI WITH FAITS ACCOMPLIS, AND HE SEEMS TO HAVE THOUGHT HE COULD THE SAME ON THIS PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE ISSUE. NONE OF THE OBSERVERS HERE BELIEVE THAT A PREEMPTIVE TACTIC BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER COULD SUCCEED.

12. WE ARE NOT TOTALLY CONVINCED THAT THE PROCESS WHICH WE HAVE SET IN MOTION TODAY AND YESTERDAY WILL SUCCEED EITHER. BUT BOTH THE PRIME MINISTER AND RUHIGIRA HAVE PROMISED TO PROCEED AND TO KEEP US INFORMED ABOUT PROGRESS THROUGHOUT THIS WEEKEND AND EARLY NEXT WEEK. LED BY THE NONCE, WE MADE A STRONG POINT ABOUT THE URGENCY OF CONCLUDING THESE DISCUSSIONS. BUT, IN THE BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES, THIS NEW PROCESS WILL TAKE A FEW DAYS. END COMMENT.  
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